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THE PROGRESS TOWARD WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

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American interest in Western European integration is based largely on a desire to see the area strengthened against Soviet aggression. Starting in 1948 with the Marshall Plan, in the economic field, and the Brussels Pact, in the military, a number of organizations furthering integration have been established or projected (see maps, p. 7).

Obstacles to a united Europe are, however, still very serious, as is illustrated by the current difficulties in obtaining ratification of the European Defense Community treaty. Longstanding mutual distrusts, reluctance to give up sovereign powers or make other national sacrifices, and fear of antagonizing the Soviet Union have all been powerful deterrents.

So far, only six nations--Italy, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg--have shown a willingness to give up any sovereignty for Western European integration. Great Britain contends that its Commonwealth and Atlantic ties preclude joining any European federation; the Scandinavian countries do not like the absence of Britain, and Sweden additionally refuses to compromise its alliance-free foreign policy; Switzerland maintains its traditional neutrality; the Spanish and Portuguese governments distrust European integration, and the former is politically unpalatable to most other European countries.

Despite these obstacles, the so-called Community of Six, or Little Europe, has already made marked progress. The member countries are creating a common market in the recently established Coal-Steel Community; they have signed, but not yet ratified, a treaty for the formation of a European Defense Community; and they are now considering a treaty to provide a political umbrella for the economic and military communities, a European Political Community (see organization charts, p. 8).

In the light of the deep-rooted economic, political, and social difficulties in the way of effective European union, over-all progress to date has been surprisingly good, and the officials of the new European organizations are already acquiring a prestige in national capitals that in itself is a new internationalizing force. But little active interest has developed among the populations concerned and there are no indications of effective European union being accomplished soon.

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Even the past year's achievements within the Community of Six are being subjected to severe strains as the various national parliaments begin to realize the price which must be paid for these gains.

### Economic Integration

The program for European economic cooperation was intended initially to help overcome the dislocations caused by the war, then to make Europe more self-supporting, and later, also to provide a solid economic base for rearmament. The first major step was the formation, in April 1948, of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which embraces all the Western European countries except Spain. Besides helping to allocate American aid under the Marshall Plan and establishing the European Payments Union, the OEEC has tried to strengthen the area's economy by such other measures as the elimination of import quotas, reduction of tariffs, and increases in investments. It has also served, in some ways, as a first step toward a loose confederation of the whole of Western Europe.

By the spring of 1950, however, the limited progress toward integration along these lines, coupled with West Germany's rapid economic and political recovery, had convinced a few French leaders that more drastic action was necessary. The Schuman Plan, which was initiated by the French Government mainly to reduce Germany's capacity for aggressive warfare, called for immediate and full integration in a basic sector of the European economy through the creation of a common market for coal and steel. This proposed a jump from discretionary international cooperation to the creation of a supranational organization to which some sovereign powers would be transferred. The plan was accepted only by six countries, and they brought the Coal-Steel Community formally into being on 25 July 1952.

Despite modifications during the 1950-1951 negotiations, the basic concept of the Schuman Plan remained unchanged. To meet objections to the extensive powers of the plan's High Authority, however, a council of ministers from the cabinets of the member governments was formed to provide organic cooperation between the Authority and the six national states.

The deliberative Assembly at Strasbourg, where the member countries are represented on a proportional basis, can dismiss members of the policy-making High Authority located at Luxembourg. The Court of Justice, also at Luxembourg, is the final

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arbitrator on all disputes, and the Consultative Committee of producer, management and labor representatives advises on questions of production programs and readjustments facing industries and workers.

On 10 February 1953 the High Authority took the first concrete steps toward the establishment of a common market for coal and iron ore, and similar steps concerning steel are due to be taken in early May. Extensive powers over the coal and steel industries of the community members have already been transferred to the High Authority, and the six individual governments have arranged to terminate all national regulation over trade in coal, iron ore, and scrap, particularly import and export duties, quantitative restrictions and restrictions on foreign exchange for the purchase of these materials.

Most of these national restrictions, however, are to be abandoned only gradually over the five-year transition period, and many observers fear that the numerous interim exceptions will make the present plans finally unworkable. Many steel producers oppose the treaty's anti-cartel features, and in any event the execution of the treaty's provisions will tend to clash with national interests for an indefinite period.

Furthermore, nonmember nations like Britain, Austria, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries have expressed fears that the Coal-Steel Community's potentially discriminatory features may hurt their economies. Britain maintains a permanent representative at the High Authority largely to keep informed, and Switzerland plans to do likewise.

Despite these difficulties, the Schuman Plan has already stimulated similar approaches to European economic integration in such fields as agriculture and transportation, as well as a recent Dutch proposal for a free trade area in all of Western Europe.

#### Military Integration

The European Defense Community treaty, which was signed by the Little Europe nations in May 1952 but has still not been ratified by any of the national parliaments, evolved from the Plevin Plan put forward by France in 1950, largely to forestall the creation of a new German national army. Various factors, including the outbreak of the Korean war, had by then convinced Western leaders that an early German military contribution had become essential for the effective defense of Western Europe.

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Earlier, the Brussels Pact, signed by Britain, France, and the Benelux countries in March 1948, had established a military alliance known as Western Union, which helped pave the way for the North Atlantic Treaty of April 1949. The Pleven Plan, however, went beyond the concept of military collaboration and proposed an integrated European army under a supranational authority similar to that proposed in the Schuman Plan.

The treaty, as it emerged from the protracted negotiations which began in February 1951, would set up for 50 years a Defense Community with common institutions, an integrated army with a common uniform, and a common budget. The basic unit consists of 15,000 men of a single nationality--a figure more than twice as large as that originally proposed by the French but finally accepted by them as small enough to prevent re-creation of a German general staff. A mutual assistance agreement with NATO is provided for, and Britain has extended its Brussels Pact guarantees to include West Germany, which is to remain subject to certain indirect restrictions on its armament production and total military contribution. A "Commissariat," like the Coal-Steel Community High Authority answerable to an Assembly and Council of Ministers, is to head the proposed community and handle relations with other international organizations.

Current ratification difficulties, which are most serious in France, are largely political. French leaders, in the face of the recent surprising revival of German industrial strength, have become increasingly convinced that the treaty terms undermine rather than reinforce their major objective of ensuring French preponderance on the Continent. Furthermore, many military critics doubt the workability of such a heterogeneous army, and French military leaders consider that their country's overseas commitments mean that its armed strength would be dangerously split.

To meet these and other objections, French Premier Mayer has proposed several "interpretative" protocols to the treaty, and has also called for a "definition" of a Saar settlement as a prerequisite to ratification. Representatives of the other EDC countries have now accepted the proposed protocols, but little real progress has been made in French-German talks on the Saar.

The French National Assembly is not expected to act on the treaty until it reconvenes after its summer recess. In Germany, the Bundestag ratified the treaty on 19 March, but it still faces strong tests in the upper house and probably

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a court test on its constitutionality. In Italy, ultimate ratification prospects are good, but Premier de Gasperi has decided to postpone the parliamentary vote at least until late summer. In the Netherlands the lower house of parliament is now expected to give its approval by early June, and ratification in the other two Benelux countries is anticipated after the French position has been clarified.

### Political Integration

One step toward a confederation of all of Western Europe was taken with the establishment at Strasbourg in May 1949 of the Council of Europe. Although this is a purely deliberative organization, the fact that Britain is a member serves to comfort the smaller nations fearful of French or German domination and also to reassure various groups, particularly the Socialist parties, which seek to reduce Catholic preponderance within Little Europe.

As the Coal-Steel Community and EDC plans came closer to fruition, the Little Europe governments considered the problem of raising an umbrella of political controls over the new organizations, and in September 1952 authorized the Coal-Steel Assembly to draft a constitution for a European Political Community. A few weeks ago the Assembly approved the draft prepared by its ad hoc committee, and on 10 March turned over copies of the proposed constitution to the six national governments for formal consideration.

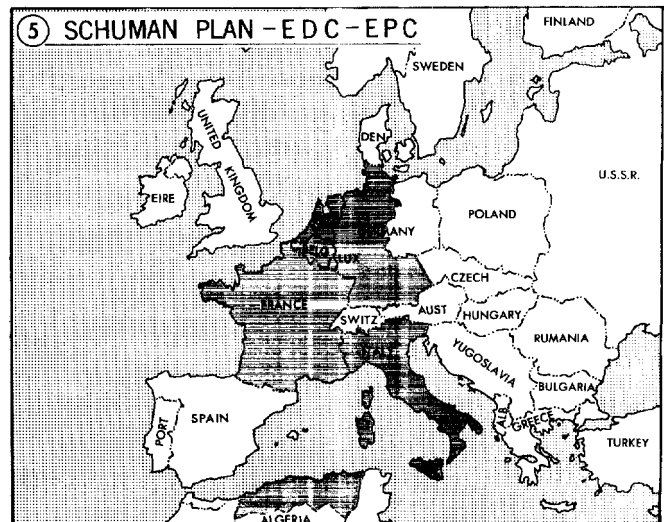
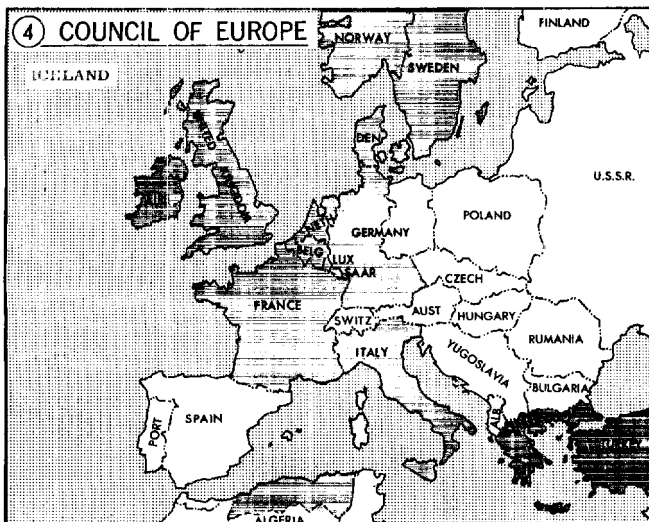
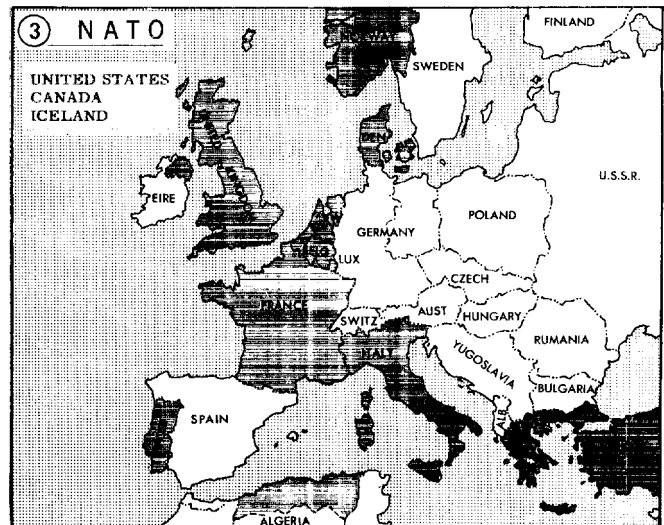
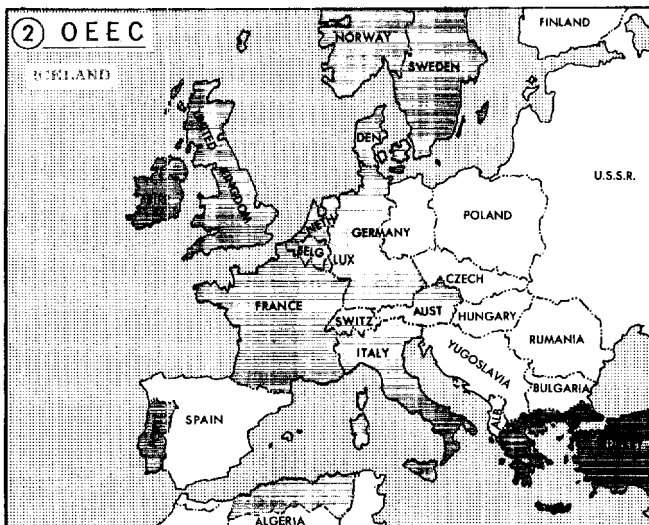
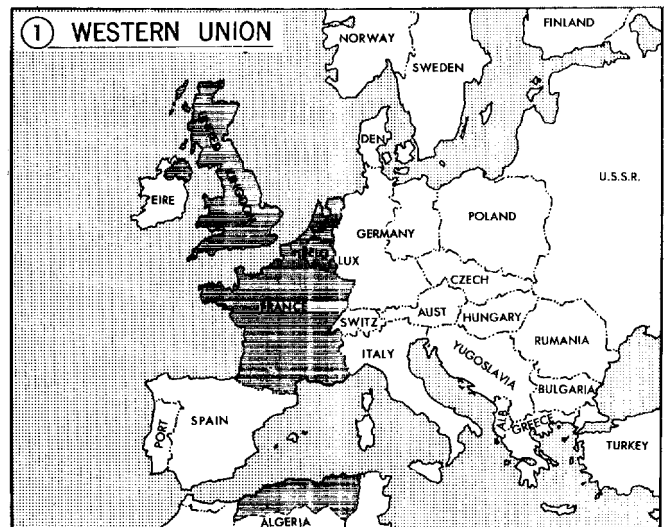
If the present draft is finally adopted, the Community of Six will begin to function within a single supranational framework consisting of an executive, a parliament, and a court. The European Executive Council, composed of a president and his cabinet, will be checked by a council of national cabinet ministers and assisted by an Economic and Social Council whose composition and powers are yet to be defined. The parliament, divided into a popularly elected Chamber of Peoples and a Senate elected by the national parliaments, will have the power to install and remove the executive.

At present, however, there is still wide disagreement among the six governments both on granting to the proposed Political Community functions and powers beyond those already assigned the Coal-Steel Community and EDC, and on the viability of a political community based merely on Little Europe.

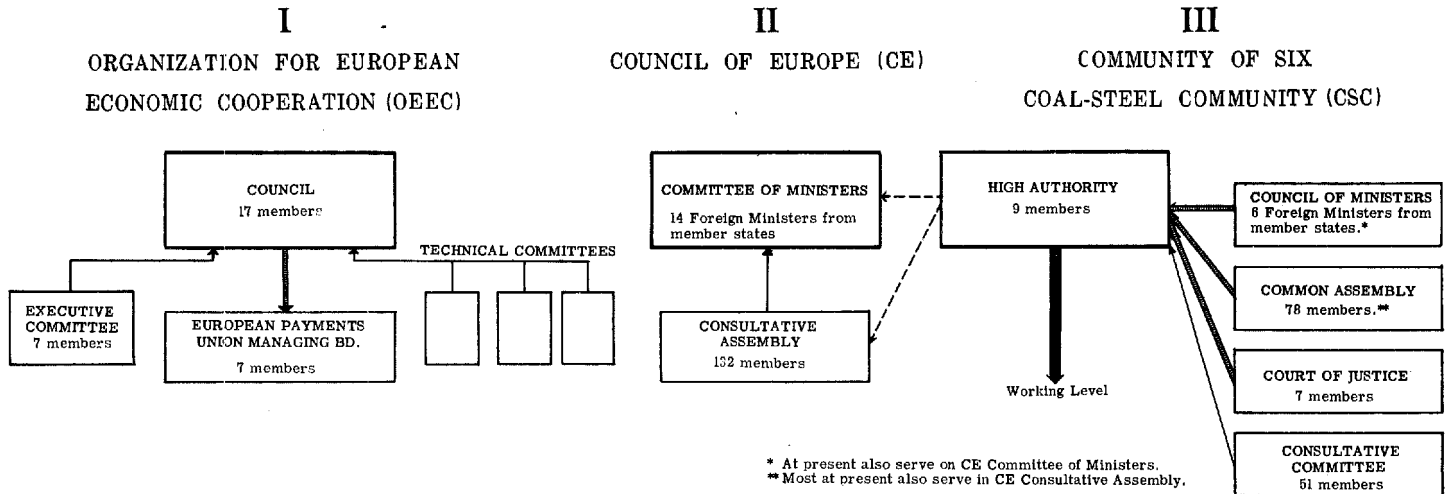
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## STEPS TOWARD WEST EUROPEAN UNITY

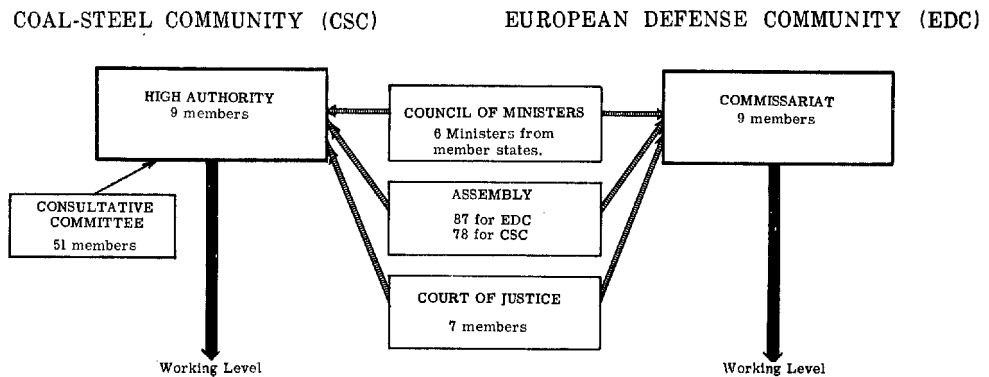
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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Western Union (Brussels Pact)                                                             | March 1948                |
| 2. OEEC - Organization for European Economic Cooperation<br>(European Marshall Plan Council) | April 1948                |
| 3. NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization                                                 | April 1949                |
| 4. Council of Europe                                                                         | May 1949                  |
| 5. Schuman Plan (Coal-Steel pool)                                                            | July 1952                 |
| EDC - European Defense Community                                                             | (Signed but not ratified) |
| EPC - European Political Community                                                           | (Proposed)                |



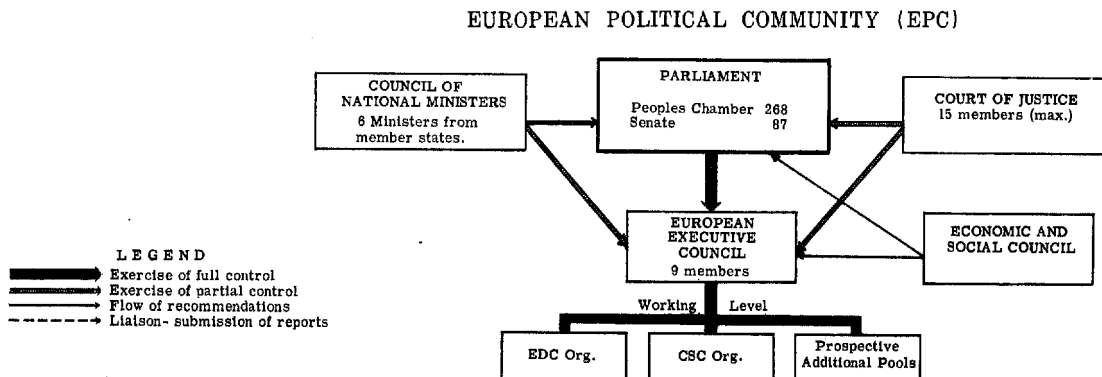
## EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS OF WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION



### IIIa THE COMMUNITY OF SIX AS MODIFIED BY THE PROPOSED EDC TREATY



### IIIb THE COMMUNITY OF SIX AS MODIFIED BY THE PROPOSED EPC TREATY



**LEGEND**

- Exercise of full control
- Exercise of partial control
- Flow of recommendations
- - - - - Liaison- submission of reports

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